the first reference to the pearls of Bahrain. Tylos, the classical name for Bahrain, was stated by Pliny to be "famous for the vast number of its pearls." In more recent years the merchant Suliman, an Arab traveller of the 9th century, mentions the pearl fisheries of Bahrain, while in the 10th century we have the first description of the actual methods of diving left by a certain Abu Zaid Hassan. From an examination of his description it can be seen how little the methods of diving have changed during the past 1000 years.

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Many later travellers and geographers have been interested by the pearl fisheries; the famous geographer Idrisi, after mentioning the political state of affairs describes the method of diving ; Bakri in 1273, Abu'l Fida in the early 14th century and Ibn Batuta all mention the pearl fisheries. In 1485 Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese explorer, says of Barem (Bahrain) "Around it grows much seed pearl, also large pearls of good quality. The merchants of the island itself fish for these pearls, and have therefrom great profits."

At the turn of the 16th century the Portuguese had firmly established themselves in India and were expanding into the Persian Gulf. In 1514 Don Albuquerque, Governor of India, visited Bahrain and noted with envy its pearl fisheries, which he said were superior to those elsewhere in the Gulf, and on his return to Hormuz, in the following year, he ordered from Bahrain many pearls which were required by the King of Portugal for the "pontifical of Our Lady." It is probable that the subsequent seizure of Bahrain by the Portuguse in 1522 was due to the wealth of the pearl traders, for the Portuguese were firm believers in monopolies and wanted to ensure their complete control over the pearl industry. This is confirmed by a Dutch traveller who said, in 1598, that "The King of Portugal hath also his factor in Bahrain, that stayeth there only for the fishing of pearls."

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In the 17th and 18th centuries the pearl fisheries became better known to Europeans, and also to Arabs, for it was the presence of the pearl fisheries of Bahrain that attracted the al-Khalifah from Kuwait, first to Zubara and then, after their victory over the Persians, to Bahrain. Although in the 19th century the British became politically supreme in the Persian Gulf, they did not interfere in the pearl industry, but on the contrary they helped to preserve the rule that only the inhabitants of those countries bordering on the Gulf could fish on the pearl banks. Recent laws passed in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia forbidding the use of diving suits have also been aimed at giving all an equal chance to fish without the richer merchants gaining an unfair advantage by the use of mechanical equipment.

The origin of the pearl has fascinated many peoples, but it is surely the Arabs who have the most colourful stories about its origin. Shaikh Nabhani in his *Tarikh al-Jazirat al-Arabiya* quotes the following as being a local tradition, although he rejects it as baseless. "In the spring the pearl shells rise to the surface of the sea and when it rains or when there is a heavy dew the oyster swallows one or more drops of water which then turn into pearls." Nabhani does, however, believe the

level of the ground. Every 10-20 yards along the length of the channels are airholes, round chimneys lined with stone and varying in diameter from 2 to 5 feet. The top of the shaft, which resembles a well head, is surrounded by a low wall. Page 116 shows the channel which has been uncovered and in which the construction of the airholes can clearly be seen. At the shaft of the water channel which runs west of the village of Shakhura there is a large subterranean room which serves the purpose of a bathing hall. It has a high arched roof with columns branching out from a central pillar. It is roofed over and has a hard gypsum floor covered with fine white sand. There is a continual stream of cold water through the chamber, which is still used by the inhabitants from the surrounding villages as a bathing place to which they go in the heat of the summer and sit in comfort in the shady coolness below. It is rumoured that there are more such chambers, but this is the only one that the author has personally visited.

The channels in most cases carry water from springs in the hills a few miles inland to the coastal gardens. Many of them are still used, although others have long since fallen into ruin, but very skilful work was involved in their building and the fact that water still flows in many of them is a conclusive proof of their scientific construction. So far, no inscriptions have been found within them, but there is no doubt that if they were examined with care some signs would be found of their exact origin.

In these four sections most of the antiquities of the Bahrain Islands have been described, for they are unfortunately rare and, with the exception of the Tumuli, the mosques, the forts and the Qanats there, is little of archaeological interest in Bahrain. There are possibilities of future discoveries, however, especially in Bilad al-Qadim which should, as the ancient capital, yield something of interest to any archaeologist who explores its ruins. The numerous Arabic inscriptions would also be worth further study and their translation should add something to the history of Bahrain by giving the names of the various rulers who, at one time or another, built mosques or other buildings and had their good deed inscribed on stone.

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teenth century.[22] The Portuguese rule, which lasted about a century, came to an end as a result of their waning power in the Persian Gulf, when Portugal was annexed by Spain, and diverted the Portuguese forces from the East to be used in Europe. These favoring circumstances permitted the Persians to revive their interests in the Persian Gulf.

But Persian intervention in the affairs of Bahrayn, we are told by Arab historians, was prompted by internal conflict between the two rival Islamic sects.[23] For long the tribal chiefs of the two main Sunni and Shi'i sects of Bahrayn—a sectarian quarrel which wrought havoc in the Islamic countries—sought outside help against each other. Just as the Ottoman Empire had become the center of Sunni power, so Persia was looked upon by the Shi'i world as the defender of Shi'i rights.[24] During the reign of Shah Abbas (1587–1629), a great protagonist of the Shi'i cause, power in Bahrayn was then in the hands of a Sunni chief. The Shi'is appealed to Persia, and the Shah, assisted by the British, who were then pursuing the Portuguese, expelled the remaining Portuguese forces from Bahrayn and Hormuz in 1622.

From 1622 the Bahrayn Islands remained predominantly under Persian domination until 1783; but even during this period Persian rule was not an uninterrupted one, for the islands became the target of attack by neighboring rulers. In 1717 and 1720 the Arab chiefs of Muscat twice attacked the islands and wrested them from Persia; and it was not until 1737 that the islands were restored to Persian rule under the able command of Nadir Shah. Persian rule, however, remained unstable, for Nadir Shah's immediate successors became involved in a contest of supremacy over the islands with the chiefs of the Utubi tribes, who were then ruling the coast of Arabia across the bay from Bahrayn. The Utubis came originally from Najd and settled in Kuwayt, but later, with the help of the chiefs of al-Sabah tribe, rulers of Kuwayt, moved to al-Hasa and established themselves at Zubara, a town situated in the peninsula of Qatar opposite to the Bahrayn Islands.

In 1783 Shaykh Ahmad al-Khalifa, then chief of the Utubi tribes and ruler of Zubara, attacked Bahrayn and annexed it to his territory; but when Zubara was overrun by the Wahhabi forces a few years later, the Khalifa chiefs moved their seat of government to Bahrayn, abandoning their Arabian dominion.

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While Bahrayn was freed from Persian rule, it never ceased to be the bone of contention among neighboring rulers, such as the Sultans of Muscat

[22] Oestrup gives the date 1507 as the beginning of Portuguese rule (The Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. I, p. 585) which seems to be the source of the date given in the Iranian note of Aug. 2, 1928 (League of Nations Official Journal, September, 1928, p. 1. 1).

[23] Al-Nabhani, *Tarikh al-Bahrayn* (Cairo, 1924); Amin Rihani, *Muluk al-Arab* (Beirut, 1929, 2nd ed.), Vol. II, Chs. 5–6.

[24] For a discussion of this schism in the Islamic society of the sixteenth century, see A. J. Toynbee, A Study of History (London, 1934), Vol. I, pp. 346–402.

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Islam) and its ruler must owe allegiance to the Caliph, the supreme politico-religious head of the Muslims.[36] The Caliph, who derives his authority from the sacred law, is charged with the functions of maintaining the integrity of *Dar al-Islam* and the propagation and defense of the religion.[37] It follows, accordingly, that so long as there was a Caliph in evidence, all the Muslims owed allegiance to him and acknowledged his ultimate authority. The Bahrayn Islands, until the time of the abolition of the Caliphate, must be regarded as part of the Caliph's dominions. Even the Persian occupation might be regarded as a continuation of Islamic sovereignty, for the Persian Shah, whether he acknowledged the Caliph's overlordship or ruled as a rival Caliph, claimed to fulfill the same functions enjoined by the sacred law over both his country and Bahrayn.

Long before the opening of the nineteenth century, when Great Britain made her appearance in the Persian Gulf, the authority of the Caliph had declined and certain portions of his dominions had passed under foreign rule. The occupation of Muslim territories by non-Muslim Powers was never recognized by the Caliph and was regarded as an anomaly under Muslim law. It was tolerated only so long as Muslim power was not strong enough to restore those territories to the rule of the sacred law.[38]

The European Powers, on their part, when they came into contact with the Islamic world, were confronted with a civilization so different from their own that they found it more expedient to forget about their own system of international law in conducting their relations with Muslims and other Eastern people. It might have been possible to adjust the European system of international law to these lands by adopting certain rules and practices from Eastern laws. But in fact the distintegration of these Eastern societies had already gone too far to enable them to deal on a par with the European Powers.[39] In the circumstances, neither would Islam recognize Christian rule in its dominion, nor were the European Powers prepared at first to regard Eastern lands as falling under the pale of European international law. Thus the European jurists began to justify certain actions

[36] For a discussion on what constitutes an Islamic territory, see Abdur Rahim, The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence (Madras, 1907), pp. 395–396; Majid Khadduri, The Law of War and Peace in Islam (London, 1941), pp. 19–20.

[37] See Sir Thomas Arnold, The Caliphate (Oxford, 1924), pp. 70–76; A. Sanhoury, *Le Califat* (Paris, 1926), pp. 3 ff.

[38] Even when the Ottoman Sultans ceded such territories as the Crimea (1774), Cyprus (1878), Egypt (1882), and Tripoli (1912), the "spiritual" authority of the Caliph was recognized by the Powers to continue over the Muslims who remained under foreign rule. See Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–183. This practice of the separation of the "spiritual" from the "secular" powers of the Caliph, which is not feasible in Muslim legal theory, was resorted to by the Ottoman Sultan in order to maintain sovereignty over lost Islamic territories. See C. A. Nallino, Notes on the Nature of the Caliphate in General and on the Alleged Ottoman Caliphate (Roma, 1919).

[39] See Majid Khadduri, "Islam and International Law," in Islamic Literature (January, 1951), Vol. III, pp. 19–21.

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